1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

of that species, — a droll and contemptible personage, who feeds on dog carcasses and excrement, and has nothing in common with the cult. The Koryak do not consider it a sin to kill a raven. The raven, nevertheless, plays some part in their cosmogony. He swallowed the sun,[1] and Big-Raven's daughter got it out from his mouth, whereupon she killed him. This suggests the tale of the liberation of the sun told by the Indians of the North Pacific coast. In another tale[2] the raven and the sea-gull appear as shamans, bringing Eme'mqut, the son of Big-Raven, back to life several times, after he had been killed by an invincible giant who keeps his heart hidden in a box.

There are many contradictory accounts of the origin of Big-Raven. According to information given by a Koryak from Opu'ka, the Supreme Being was once sharpening his knife in heaven, and a piece of dust from the grindstone fell down to earth and turned into a man, and that man was Big-Raven. Many Koryak say that they do not know where Big-Raven came from, but that in olden times the people knew it. Others say that the Supreme Being created him, and sent him down to establish order on earth. According to one tale[3] Big-Raven grew up all alone, having been left in the house by his father, Self-created (Tomwo'get), when quite a little boy. When he grew up, and commenced to go out hunting, he once happened to run up against a house in which a girl, Miti' by name, lived. She had been deserted when a little girl by her father, Twilight-Man (Çi'thiłła'n), and had grown up alone. Big-Raven married her, and the Koryak are their descendants.

Almost all of the recorded Koryak myths, with very few exceptions,[4] deal with the life, travels, adventures, and tricks of Big-Raven, his children, and other relatives. In this respect the Koryak mythology is very similar to the transformer myths of the Tlingit relating to the raven Yē̆lch[5] or Yē̆tl.[6]

Struck with the ridiculous and disrespectful character of the tales about "Ku'tka" in Kamchadal mythology, Steller calls the Kamchadal "geborene Gotteslästerer,"[7] and considers such an attitude toward the gods an anomalous exception. But the myths of the civilized peoples of antiquity, as well as those of other primitive tribes that have been collected since, prove that in point of coarseness the crude imagination of the Kamchadal does not stand alone. Indecent tales are, nevertheless, especially characteristic of the inhabitants of both shores of the North Pacific; and their obscene character constitutes one of the points of resemblance between Koryak and American mythology.

Big-Raven and his wife Miti' play all sorts of indecent tricks just for their amusement. They turn their sexual organs into dogs and people, and then set them back again in their places.[8] Miti' takes her anus and puts it in place

[1] See Tale 82. [2] See Tale 67. [3] Tale 20.
[4] Tales 27, 36, 44, 47, 97, 99. [5] Krause, pp. 253-282.
[6] Boas, Indianische Sagen, pp. 311-328.
[7] Steller, p. 253. [8] Tales 7, 25, 31.

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of her vulva, and *vice versa*.[1] Miti′ prepares puddings out of her genitalia, and treats her husband to them. He enters her anus as though it were a house.[1] In another place, on the occasion of a famine, Big-Raven, as well as every member of his family, — except his sons, who are absent with the reindeer, — following Big-Raven's order, each puts his head into his own anus, and, feeding there on excrement, imagines that he is wandering along a river-valley, and procuring fish.[2] Big-Raven appears, besides, as a being of a very low order of intelligence. Not only Miti′, who is represented as being brighter than he, succeeds in deceiving him, and excels him in cunning inventions, but even mice, foxes, and other animals cheat him, make fun of him, and deride him. It goes without saying, that all these funny, foolish, or indecent adventures of Big-Raven and other members of his family, go hand in hand with supernatural deeds and transformations. Although reflecting the Koryak view of nature and deities, they serve mainly as a source of amusement. The coarseness of the incidents does not prevent the Koryak from considering the heroes of those tales as their protectors.

According to some information, Big-Raven's wife Miti′, whose name is also connected with incantations, was thrown down from heaven upon earth by her father, The-Master-on-High[3] (Gičho′l-etı′nvıla^{a}n). Big-Raven found her in the wilderness, and, knowing nothing of her origin, kept constantly taunting her, saying that she had no kin. Another informer told me that Miti′ fell down upon the tundra from the clouds during a thunder-storm.

According to a third tradition, related to me by an Opu′ka Koryak, Miti′ was the daughter of Crab (Toko′yoto), the master of the sea. This name designates a large sea-crab found in the Pacific Ocean. From what follows, it might seem that it is the spider-crab. Miti′ remained on the shore after high water. Big-Raven found her and took her for his wife. According to Tale 116, Big-Raven found in a water-hole a White-Whale woman, Miti′ by name, whom he took for his wife. Another tradition relates that Miti′ had been married to the master of the sea, and that Big-Raven took her away from him; that Miti′'s older daughters were not Big-Raven's children, but Crab's. This last tale is accompanied by an illustration (Fig. 1) made by a Maritime Koryak, Ka′mmake from the Opu′ka River. Ka′mmake

Fig. 1. Koryak Sketch illustrating the Tale of Big-Raven and the Spider-Crab.

[1] Tale 25. [2] Tale 42. [3] See p. 24.

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XV. — CHARACTERISTICS OF KORYAK MYTHS

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The general features of Koryak mythology have been discussed in Chapter VII (pp. 115 et seq.). In general character the mythology of the Koryak, Kamchadal, and Chukchee shows many similarities.

COMPARISON WITH KAMCHADAL MYTHOLOGY. — All that we know of the Kamchadal mythology from Steller,[1] and from the Kamchadal myths given in Chapter XIV, leads to the conclusion that the Koryak and the Kamchadal had one and the same folk-lore. Steller relates only two complex myths, — one containing the story of Kutq's adventures with the mice, and the other telling of his love-affair with Excrement-Woman. The former myth will also be found among the Kamchadal tales in this book,[2] and both tales occur among the Koryak myths.[3] Besides, when summing up the general characteristics of Kamchadal mythology, Steller says that the entire folk-lore of the Kamchadal consisted of indecent tales about their god Kutq (Raven), as Steller calls the founder of the Kamchadal world. In this respect Kamchadal mythology corresponds closely to that of the Koryak, and forms a clearly defined cycle, consisting exclusively of raven myths. It may therefore be stated without hesitation that whatever is true of Koryak folk-lore is just as true of that of the Kamchadal.

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Steller also mentions three separate episodes from tales about Kutq which he had heard told. In the first of these episodes, Kutq's gluttony is described. He reaches a river, and sees the ground on the opposite bank covered with berries. Being unable to cross the river, he cuts off his own head, and throws it across, so that it may eat the berries.[4] The second episode, which is illustrative of the concupiscence of Kutq (who tried to have sexual intercourse with all objects that he met), relates that he once found a valved shell on the seashore, with which he had intercourse. The valves closed, and cut off his penis.[5] This calls to mind the tales about the vagina armed with teeth. The third episode, which reflects the coarse tendency of the Koryak imagination in general, tells how Kutq once took Chāchŋ (thus Steller calls Raven's wife) for an underground house, her vulva for the entrance-opening, and her anus for the underground passage of the ancient Kamchadal house, which was used for a draught.[6] He entered the house through the vulva, found the liver, and was about to take it, when it began to move. Then he became frightened, and ran out of the underground house.[7] In the Koryak tale, Big-Raven entered Mitĭ"s anus as though it were the entrance to an underground house.[8]

[1] Steller, pp. 253-284.
[2] Tale 131 (p. 329).
[3] Tales 88, 121, 130 (pp. 260, 316, 324).
[4] Steller, p. 262.
[5] Ibid., p. 263.
[6] See pp. 14, 53; Steller, p. 212.
[7] Steller, p. 263.
[8] Tale 25 (p. 169).

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combination-suit only. Hence the question arises, whether the modesty of the Koryak women in this regard is a result of the influence of the Russians, or whether it is due to the fact that the sexual relations of the Koryak differ from those prevailing among the Kamchadal and Chukchee,[1] and bring about different standards of modesty.

When feeling warm or while working, the Koryak women take the right hand out of the combination-dress and let the empty sleeve dangle down under the upper garment. At home the Koryak women always wear the

Fig. 120 ($\frac{3}{11}$). Fur Jacket, Russian Style.

Fig. 121. Man's Winter Trousers.

combination-dress that way. The end of the sleeve is seen hanging down under the skirts of the coat. There are no other openings in the combination-suit save the one in the top of the bodice for getting into it, and those at the insteps for the feet. To satisfy the demands of nature the Koryak woman has to free her arms from the sleeves and drop the suit down to her feet. The Chukchee women do so openly, while the Koryak women perform this complex operation under the coat. First they take the arms out of the coat-sleeves, then they release the arms from the sleeves of the combination-suit and put them back into the coat-sleeves. Then, when

[1] See Chapter XII.

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XII. — FAMILY LIFE.

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RELATIONS OF THE SEXES. — The relations of the sexes among the Koryak present a striking contrast to those prevailing among the surrounding tribes. Among the Kamchadal, Chukchee, Yukaghir, and Tungus, unchastity has been more or less common as well in the case of girls before marriage as of women after marriage, the lack of wifely fidelity being based (at least, among the Chukchee) on a certain form of polyandry intermixed with polygamy. Among the Koryak, on the other hand, we see a striking example of moral purity (in the sense in which modern civilized nations understand it) in regard to sexual relations, if for the moment we leave out of consideration the Koryak custom of polygamy. I speak of sexual purity because the Koryak adhere to standards wich among civilized nations are too often violated. Of particular interest also, in the question of sexual relations, is the total absence of the Russian influence upon the Koryak. I speak of the Koryak who have been not at all or but little Russianized. In general, the Russian conquerors have exercised a disintegrating influence on the family life of the Arctic Siberian tribes. The first Cossacks and Russian traders had no Russian women, or few only, in their expeditions. The native women given by the conquered tribes of their own free will, or oftener taken by force, were passed from hand to hand as slaves or hostages. These circumstances did not help to develop family virtues in the mixed bloods born of these casual unions, from which has mainly sprung the present population of the Russian hamlets in northeastern Siberia. The Russian conquerors have of course treated the primitive norms of sexual and marital relations of the northeastern tribes of Siberia not as definite institutions, involving domestic obligations and rights, but as convenient light morals. Thus the Russians made extensive use of the Yukaghir custom of allotting to guests a place on the bed of unmarried women, and of the Chukchee right of certain men to the wives of others.[1] Add to this the violence which was resorted to in many cases, and the process can easily be imagined whereby the primitive forms of marital and sexual relations were destroyed and replaced by mere dissoluteness. Sociologists who think that all mankind, without exception, have passed through the so-called period of promiscuity as a necessary stage in the evolution of marital relations, might find this stage in the free morals prevalent in the hamlets of the Russians or Russianized natives of northeastern

[1] See pp. 755, 756.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

831 171 Siberia. It is difficult to find a girl that has reached or even approached the age of sexual maturity that is innocent; and the attitude of married women to conjugal fidelity is fully characterized by the proverb, "Woman is not a loaf, can't be eaten by one (man)" (Баба не калачъ, одинъ не съѣшь). On the Kolyma, where often several families live together in one house, it is difficult to say who is whose wife. Likewise, cases of incestuous cohabitation of the nearest blood-relations are nowhere more frequent than here.

In bringing about the degeneration and final extinction of many Russianized Siberian tribes, sexual dissoluteness, combined with the spread of syphilis, have played by no means the least important rôle.

831 177 I have here expatiated upon the unchastity of the Russian settlers and Russianized natives of the extreme northeast of Siberia, in order to show that the special position which the Koryak occupy among the neighboring tribes regarding the interrelation of the sexes cannot be due to the influence of the morals of the few representatives of a civilized people who have settled among them. On the contrary, the Koryak have waged an active struggle against the Russian influence which threatened to destroy their family life.[1]

To what, then, is due the fact that the sexual relations of the Koryak stand, according to our notions, above those of the tribes which are related to them by descent, — tribes that live under the same economic conditions, and under the influence of the same external circumstances? The explanation lies probably in the peculiar mental attitude of the Koryak.

836 621 Position of Girls prior to Marriage. — Girls, before marriage, must have no intercourse with men. This rule is pretty strictly observed by Koryak girls. Young men will not "serve"[2] for a dissolute girl. He who would undertake to serve for such a girl would expose himself to ridicule on the part of the other youths. On the other hand, the girl's father and elder brothers "are angry," the Koryak say, if they notice that their daughter or sister is intimate with young men. All investigators familiar with the life of primitive tribes know that the anger of the elders has more influence upon the conduct of the younger members of a family than preaching in the higher classes or blows in the lower classes of civilized nations, for the wrath of the elders may do harm to those against whom it is directed.

In two myths we have characteristic episodes telling how a girl's brothers forced a young man to marry her when she complained that the young man had touched her or had addressed to her a request to give him water to drink.

836 847 Should a girl become pregnant before marriage, it is considered shameful, and her parents scold her. She goes off into the wilderness to be deliv-

[1] See Chapter XIV. [2] See p. 739. [3] See Part I, pp. 270, 275.